7: Joest--55 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 628

The eastern half of the island is mountainous and covered with dense forests; the natives of the island were pushed back into this region by the Chinese. Along the coast there are several tribes who live in great poverty as fishermen. Most of the natives, however, built villages in the forests so that each tribe has its own community; these live chiefly by hunting. There are constant feuds among them.

7: Joest--60 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361 Chin-hoan

The Chinwans like to build their villages within the forest, preferably on a small hill so that they are protected from sudden attacks. They burn the trees around the settlement and the women plant rice, millet, hemp, and tobacco. Sometimes they harden pointed pieces of bamboo by holding them over a fire and placing these along the narrow paths which lead to their village.

10: Schumacher--225 [13] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361 Chin-hoan

At first I was unable to judge from the type of settlements of the inhabitants of the mountains as to whether they were imitating the Chinese of the lowland plain, or whether their ancestors had known this type of settlement before they came to Formosa.

The great advantages which this form of settlement offers to the individual families are based on such thoughtful principles that they cannot have been discovered by people who were just turning to agriculture.

14: Tamai--95 [2] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines-12
116, 361, 175 Chin-hoan

The village of Kushaku is situated within a stretch of level land about three square kilometers in size; on three sides this plain is held in by high, steep mountains, on the fourth by the Tai-Keika River, which at the same time forms the boundary of the Tschinwan district. There are about 60 houses and over 600 inhabitants, Chinese who are natives of Formosa. The men... crossed the river in a Chinese fishing boat and reached the foot of the mountain. There they were met by a number of Tschinwans; they were wearing their short swords at their side and held rifles in their hands. They were on their way back from Kushaku, where they had bought a barrel of Sho-chin and a pig. The expedition then crossed the difficult mountain paths and reached the place where Lieutenant Okamura had left presents for the natives on February 3rd. From here a tunnel about one kilometer long, which the Tschinwans had built through the high grass, led to a large place in the valley where they found many water containers. This place is called Korehanan. Formerly the Formosans had a dyeing industry there but after bitter struggles with the Tschinwans they were killed or scattered. The Tschinwans burned all the houses and left only the containers for water. Since that time the Formosans have not dared to settle there again. Beyond this place the men again crossed a steep mountain and arrived in Tanku, where the Tschinwans had several hunting lodges. 16 Tschinwans, both men and women, were staying there. At the beginning the women seemed to be somewhat afraid of the Japanese. They went on together, however, stopping at a brook about 12 kilometers from Shin-Ten-Gai. It was raining and the troops

therefore experienced great difficulty in marching. They followed the course of the brook and crossed the steep mountain of Kremiuashuya, where there are large numbers of bears, deer, and monkeys; the hunt for these animals forms the chief occupation of the Tschinwans, and hunting lodges were seen everywhere along the brook. After they had climbed the Guane and crossed the Katsukaurio River the expedition arrived in Togasha.

14: Tamai--95 [4] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361 Chin-hoan

The name Marai designates the eight Sha, villages, of the Tschinwans. The names of these are:

1. Tagesha
2. Yukan yumui-Sha
3. Maraiakosha
4. Watanjurosha
5. Watan toyo-Sha
6. Watan taimo-Sha
7. Rhinhongan-Sha (or Watan toruku-Sha)
8. Ankiu-Sha (or Butanokan-Sha).

14: Tamai--97 [8] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361 Chin-hoan

The Japanese expedition visited Togasha for one day. All the villages except Watan-Yuro are situated along a small tributary of the Tamsui. The main village is Togasha, which has 20 houses and more than 100 inhabitants. All the soldiers were quartered in these houses.

14: Tamai--97[14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361 Chin-hoan

According to Shiro, [MC: the Chin-hoan host of the Japanese in Togasha village] there are 200 houses in the eight Sha (villages) and 800 inhabitants.

The other Tschinwan villages besides those in the Maraisha District are:

1. Takohaura
2. Beiwai
3. Takasau
4. Tonoba
5. Kajuizan
6. Tokurai
7. Kuro
8. Miniebu in Sasan.

14: Tamai--97 [15] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 609 Chin-hoan

The people of the eight Sha have no communication with those of other villages; if they do come into contact with them their relations are friendly.

14: Tamai--97[16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 487, 505 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans of Maraisha inhabit a strategically favorable position; it is difficult to approach their villages from any side. The Japanese expeditionary forces found no suitable roads; what the Tschinwans consider a road to us is barely a path.

Since the mountains are steep and rocky it is difficult to build roads. The best method of transportation is to make use of the rivers.

15: U. S. Navy --27 (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 361

"The aboriginal mountain communities can offer no real shelter for Europeans except in the Japanese police stations. The southeastern coastal aborigines have well-developed village life with extensive clearings and fields and established water supplies."

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

16: Müller--231 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361

Most of the aborigines of Formosa build their huts at a considerable distance from each other, so that one house may just be seen from another.

16: Müller--234 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361

The aborigines of Formosa cultivate millet, rice, and vegetables, but on the whole they do little work on their fields. They rely on the beneficent spirits of their ancestors to further the growth of plants, and they neither clear the fields nor fertilize them. If the soil ceases to be fertile, they leave their land and settle somewhere else. They have no agricultural implements save a hoe with a short shaft. Added to this is the poor soil in most regions, the steep mountains, and the rocky ground, so that the total agricultural produce is lamentably small.

18: Kakyo--67 [6] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 341,361

The Formosan aborigines have fixed residences....
They use stone and wood for building houses.

19: Guérin and Bernard--551 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 826

All of these clans [MC: of northern Formosa in the district around Mt. Sylvia] have property along a water-course. The Tapéhan have a brook, and the Katasièk a river which empties into the eastern sea. The water-course which has watered the Taoussai territory has its mouth in the Taioukou region. A large river traverses the country of the Kaiaou, the Sélamaou, Mouiaou and Menibo, and then ends near Sau-o-bay. The Tangav have the Manka river at its source, the Takassan, the Kakaougan, the Kéoui and the Takoham each have one of the tributaries of this same river.

The most populous of these tribes are the Takoham, Menibo, Mouiaou, Taoussai and the Taioukou.

The Menibo are reputed to be thieves. The Taoussai have goitres, so they are an object of horror to the other tribes.

19: Guérin and Bernard--557 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 341, 361

The houses are carefully built, but they are arranged in a manner which looks more like a hamlet than a village. Enormous piles of offal show that you are approaching the settlement, and then you come into a vast clearing which is surrounded on all sides by the forest. The dwellings are perched on the slopes of the hills, and there is a good deal of space between them; they are rectangular or square (circular and with a conical roof in the south). The walls are made of planks which are poorly squared, and the roof is bamboo, covered with thatch; they have doors and windows.

20: Alvarez--255-256 (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361, 166, 241

"The Amis, Pyuma and several other branches have been influenced by owing [sic] and assimilated to their Chinese neighbours, [MC: owing] to the close and permanent contact with the invading race. They pursue some agriculture and have also a [256] little home industry, while others, especially the Atayal, seem to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth. Authors of the past century asserted, incorrectly however, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa had but temporary shelters, for they were always wandering abouth [sic] the woods. There were, undoubtedly, transmigrations since the arrival of the Chinese in 1683. It is for instance, almost sure that the ancestors of the Amis, Pyuma, Paiwan, Atayal and Tsalisen had been driven out from their primitive home by the Chinese. But nomads, in the strict sense of the word, we think have never existed in the island."

21: Asai--2 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361

"The people live in villages consisting of from 10 to sometimes 200 houses. At present, all the tribes, excepting the Yami (?) tribe, live on the hills at about 1,000 feet above sea level. This is a malaria free area. In the Atayal and Bunun areas are isolated communities, each house standing alone without depending on neighbors. In other areas, the houses are in clusters."

21: Asai--6 [6] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 173, 361

"They move their villages often. Many old sites have been found through excavations, and the oral traditions of the tribes have been studied."

22: Wiedfeldt--13-14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 351 Atayal

Every Atayal family occupies its own hut. It is about 200 to 500 meters away from the hut of the nearest neighbor, for the Atayal, who keep no cattle, do not need to live in a compact village either to watch their herds, or for their own protection, or even for the purpose of accomplishing more easily the performance of certain joint tasks, such as the building of roads. Their huts usually are on a hillside, somewhat apart from the beaten path, but so located that the only path by which they can gain access to their homes is visible from their doors. The hut is always near running water, and is often surrounded by bamboos and other flexible trees, [14] such as the Chinese of the plain are accustomed to plant around their houses as a protection against typhoons.

31: Hofmann--609 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 137, 361

From the boundary, [EJ: separating the territory held by the aborigines from that held by the Japanese.] a fairly safe point of observation, I had a view of the mountains and the many deep chasms where the aborigines had their dwellings. There the inclines are covered with dense forests consisting almost altogether of leafy trees... Here and there the silvery leaves of the large camphor trees could be clearly distinguished among the green of the rest of the forest. A few of the houses of the natives could also be seen in the distance...

31; Hofmann--619 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 513, 622 Tsou

When I entered the first village, Teboro, I was received by the chief and treated with great respect; the village is enclosed by a low stone wall, as is each of the houses in the village. The huts are oval in shape; they are made of rough stones taken from rivers and brooks. They are barely 1 1/2 meters high; the ratio between the length and width is 4 to 1. The post which supports the roof consists of a tree trunk which has not been shaped in any way; the roof itself consists of reeds. There is one, or at most two openings without a door; these are on the narrow sides of the house and serve both to give light and to admit air. The hut of the chieftain is somewhat larger. There are niches in the walls which serve as sleeping quarters; the natives sleep on clay which has been beaten flat, while the chieftain sleeps on a bamboo support which is in the center of the hut. The clay floor of the house I visited had been cleaned, but I do not know whether this is always the case.

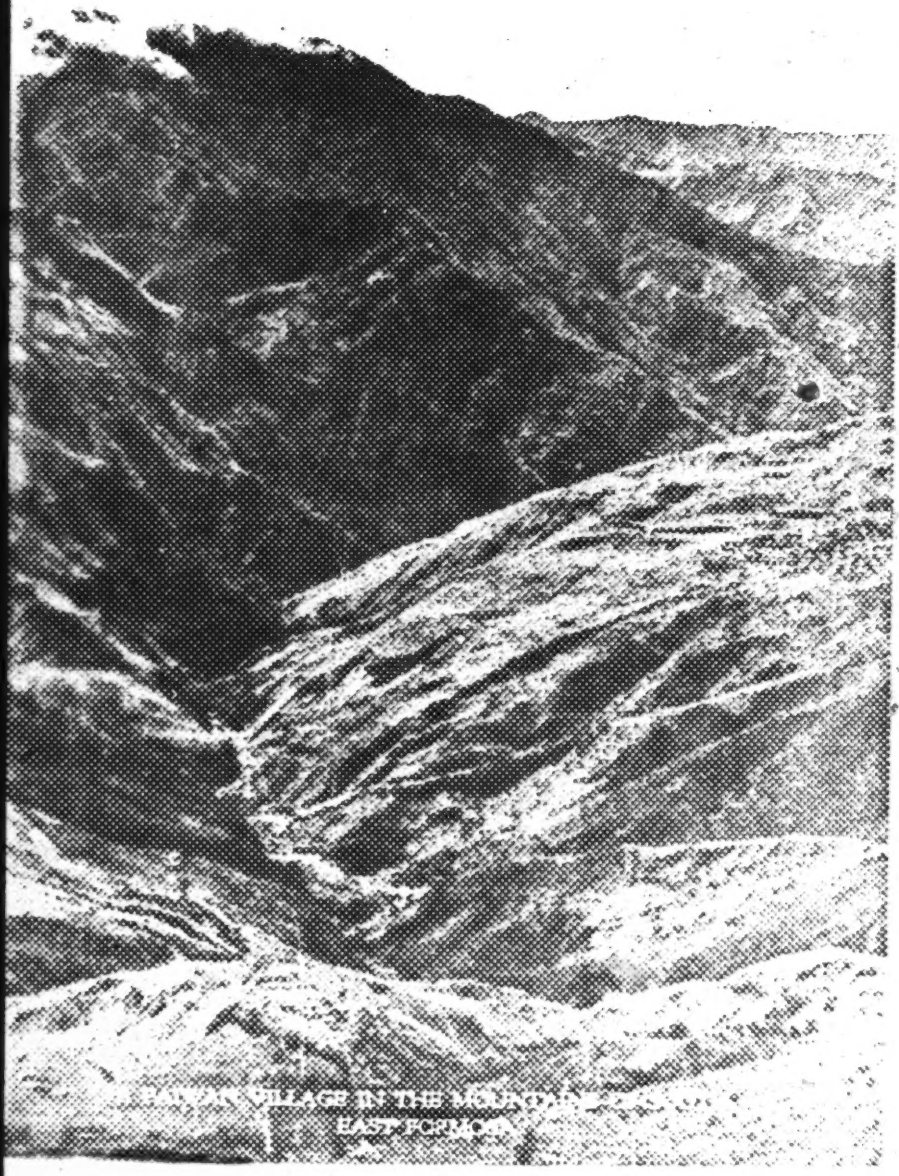
34: Del Re--24-27 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 133, 361, 504, 342, 491 Yami

"A small steamship calls at the island once every ten days, weather permitting. As the sea is frequently rough and Botel-Tobago is surrounded by dangerous breakers, the ship anchors some distance out and passengers and cargo are transferred to land on a catamaran made out of heavy bamboo trunks lashed together. Apart from a small rest-house, police headquarters and the policemen's houses, all the rest are native buildings. The walls of these houses are built of large pebbles piled upon each other without mortar and covered with thatched roofs held down by large stones to prevent them being torn off by the wind. As this blows strongly practically all the year round, the houses are mainly constructed well below the level of the ground and protected by high stone walls over which only the roofs can be seen. The villages are scattered over the island, generally on the foreshore, but a few shacks and storehouses--covered with bamboo and branches of several varieties of trees--are found on the cultivated uplands and in the hills which rise steeply from the shore except where the coast forms a few open bays. During the twenties a good road was built round the island making it possible for the villagers to communicate with each other by cart or bycicle [sic]--a recent and much [pages 25 and 26 contain illustrations] [27] appreciated novelty."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Paiwan

133
361



A Paiwan village in the mountains of Southeast Formosa

51

35: Collingwood--136 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 609 Sek-hoan

"The following morning we landed on the southern side of the bay, where we were to find the native village, of which no trace however was visible from the ship. We were met upon the beach by a number of men and women, who were in no respect, either of dress or feature, similar to the Chinese, and along with them, after the first expressions of surprise and curiosity, we entered the village. This is rudely walled, the entrance being through doors at either side, by which we passed into an assemblage of huts constructed chiefly of grass and bamboos. The grass is woven into a kind of trellis or mat, which is placed against the sides, while the chief part of the walls is constructed of upright sticks, the interstices being imperfectly plastered with mud to keep out the weather. The door is of bamboo, and fixed upon a rude hinge, the lower part revolving sometimes upon the bottom of an earthern cup, to give freedom of motion. The roof is a thick thatch of grass and herbs (in which a species of Turk's-cap lily is largely used), and is supported by bamboos irregularly disposed among it. At one end is often an overhanging shed, containing a supply of firewood, of which there is everywhere abundance."

40: Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

"Naturally enough, the tribes living farthest up in the high mountains are most resistant to change. The Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, for example, will continue to annoy their Japanese rulers for some time to come. The Atayal huddle together in colonies and are most difficult to move; the Bunun live apart from one another in the mountains and are more easily moved to the foothills, where small villages are ready to receive these involuntary migrants. (4)

4. Interview with T. Soda, Professor of Public Health, Taihoku Imperial University.

In the course of a few years the old culture of the Formosan primitive will probably be only a memory, for the Japanese will have pushed their policy of ko-min-ka far into the high mountains. Fortunately, several scholars of the Imperial University have done extensive research in the origin, history, and customs of the aborigines, and these men are trying to preserve for future generations a true picture of native Formosan culture as it was before the coming of Chinese and Japanese."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimo[illegible] consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

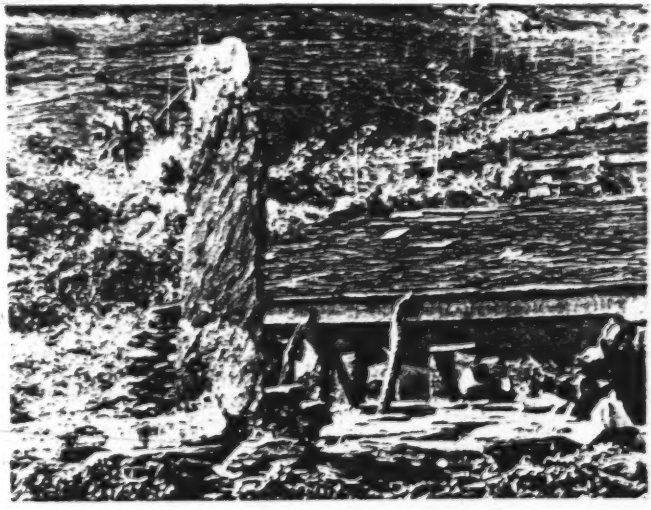
49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoan had 55 houses and Pinaiwanan 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*ssam na mamatsayiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoan. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tfaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoan, while the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tfalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanan. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alifulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoan. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoan and Pinaiwanan has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tfalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tfalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tfalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tfalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tfalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusiguan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

1. 來義村 Pinaiwanan 作村之大部及 Chinimoan 作村之一角 (凌純聲攝)
Scene of Chala'abus Village, Pingtung Hsien

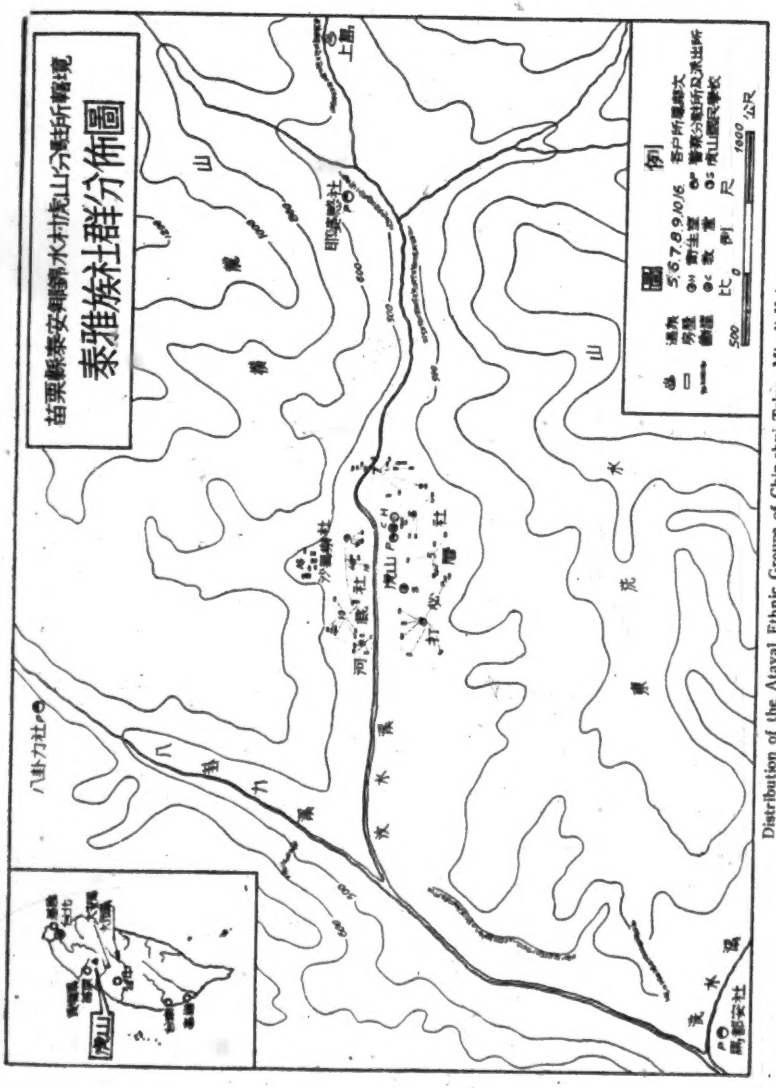


2. 來義村大頭目之宗家與祖先石柱 (何廷瑞攝)
The prime house of the *aruramay* and ancestral pillar, Chala'abus Village, Pingtung Hsien

/P. 112 a (facing p. 22, Chinese text)/

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

● 361
101



Distribution of the Atayal Ethnic Groups of Chin-shui Ts'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127 b (facing p. 30, Chinese text)/

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.